

Message Text

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44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 IO-11 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00

USIE-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 AID-05 CEA-01 COME-00 EB-07 FRB-03

CIEP-01 STR-04 LAB-04 SIL-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 ARA-06

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O R 101625Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5011

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY KINSHASA

AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LUXEMBOURG 0254

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EC, LU

SUBJECT: EC NINE POLITICAL COOPERATION: CALL FOR WITHDRAWAL
OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA

REF: (A) EC BRUSSELS 02407; (B) LUXEMBOURG 0200

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SUMMARY: EC AFRICAN EXPERTS GROUP PROPOSES DEMARCH IN FEW DAYS URGING WITHDRAWAL OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA. MOST MEMBER STATE CAPITALS HAVE ALREADY ENDORSED PROPOSAL. END SUMMARY.

1. GOL CHAIRMAN OF EC NINE AFRICAN EXPERTS MEETING IN LUXEMBOURG ON MARCH 8 AND 9 BRIEFED DCM ON RESULTS OF MEETING. HIS REMARKS PARALLEL REPORT REFTEL (A), WITH FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: (A) EXPERTS AGREED THAT NINE SHOULD MAKE DEMARCHE ON GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA IN PRETORIA BY END OF THIS WEEK OR NO LATER THAN EARLY NEXT WEEK. THEY IMMEDIATELY REQUESTED AGREEMENT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE CAPITALS AND EC PRESIDENCY HAS ALREADY RECEIVED AFFIRMATIVE REPLIES FROM MOST GOVERNMENTS. DUTCH AMBASSADOR, WHO REPRESENTS LUXEMBOURG IN PRETORIA, WILL MAKE THE DEMARCHE IN THE NAME OF THE NINE. (B) THE DEMARCHE WILL BE INFORMAL AND AS DISCREET AS POSSIBLE. THE NINE WOULD LIKE TO KEEP IT SECRET AT THIS TIME, PARTICULARLY FROM AFRICAN COUNTRIES, IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE TO GOSA THAT IT IS NOT A GRANDSTAND GESTURE TO AFRICAN SENSIBILITIES. (C) DEMARCHE WILL RECALL EC NINE MINISTERIAL DECLARATION OF FEBRUARY 23 WHICH CONDEMNED ALL EXTERNAL MILITARY INTERVENTION IN ANGOLA AND CALLED FOR RAPID END TO ALL FOREIGN MILITARY PRESENCE (REFTEL (B)). IT WILL SPECIFICALLY URGE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS IMMEDIATELY FROM SOUTHERN ANGOLA. (D) AFTER MAKING FORMAL DEMARCHE, DUTCH AMBASSADOR IS INSTRUCTED TO MAKE TWO ADDITIONAL POINTS ORALLY. THESE ARE: (1) THE NINE REALIZES THE GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH AFRICA WILL WISH SOME SORT OF CONCESSIONS FROM ANGOLA IN RETURN FOR TROOP WITHDRAWAL AND WILL RECOMMEND THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS MAKE CONTACT WITH THE NETO GOVERNMENT TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE QUID PRO QUOS WHICH, PRESUMABLY, WILL INCLUDE ANGOLAN GUARANTEES NOT TO ATTACK THE CUNENE HYDRO-ELECTRIC DAMS. THE NINE'S SPOKESMAN WILL ADD THAT THE EC BELIEVES SUCH ASSURANCES COULD BE FORTHCOMING IF IN RETURN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD INDICATE ITS INTENTION TO WITHDRAW EVENTUALLY FROM NAMIBIA. THE EC WILL UNDERSCORE ITS BELIEF THAT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA, MPLA/CUBAN RESTRAINT IN SPONSORING GORILLA ATTACKS ON TARGETS SUCH AS CUNENE, CONFIDENTIAL

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AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE IN NAMIBIA ARE ALL INTER-RELATED ISSUES WHICH CAN AND MUST BE NEGOTIATED TO AVOID RACIAL WARFARE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. (2) THE SECOND ORAL POINT WILL BE THAT THE EC BELIEVES AFRICAN COUNTRIES WILL CALL VERY SOON FOR A SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING ON SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA AND THAT A RESOLUTION MAY BE TABLED AS EARLY AS MARCH 18. IF SUCH A RESOLUTION CONDEMNS THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA AND CALLS FOR TROOP

WITHDRAWAL, NONE OF THE EC MEMBER STATES NOW ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL, I. E. FRANCE, U. K. AND ITALY, IS PREPARED TO EXERCISE ITS VETO. IF, HOWEVER, AN AFRICAN RESOLUTION GOES BEYOND CONDEMNING THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENCE AND CALLS FOR SANCTIONS, THEY WOULD RECONSIDER THEIR POSITION.

2. GOL OFFICIAL EXPLAINED THAT THE PURPOSE OF PROPOSED DEMARCHE IS TO EMPHASIZE IN A PRIVATE BUT FORCEFUL WAY THE NINE'S CONCERN ABOUT SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA. THEY WANT TO LET THE SOUTH AFRICANS KNOW THAT EC FEBRUARY 23 DECLARATION IS NOT JUST A RHETORICAL GESTURE TOWARDS THE BLACK AFRICANS; THAT THEY SINCERELY BELIEVE A LARGE-SCALE RACIAL CONFLICT CAN ONLY BE AVOIDED IF SOUTH AFRICA WITHDRAWS FROM ANGOLA AND MOVES TOWARDS AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO NAMIBIA.

3. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ON WHETHER THEY PLAN SIMILAR DEMARCHES OR STATEMENTS WITH REGARD TO OTHER FOREIGN TROOPS IN ANGOLA, SOURCE SAID THEY DO NOT AT THIS TIME. THEY BELIEVE THAT THEIR FEBRUARY 23 STATEMENT CONDEMNING THE PRESENCE OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS IN ANGOLA COVERS THE CUBAN AND RUSSIAN PRESENCE AND LITTLE CAN REALISTICALLY BE HOPED FOR FROM FOLLOW-UP PRONOUNCEMENTS. IF GOL OFFICIAL ACCURATELY SUMMED UP SENTIMENT OF OTHER PARTICIPANTS IN THE MEETING, THEY APPARENTLY FEEL THAT CUBAN AND SOVIET PRESENCE IN ANGOLA IS A FAIT ACCOMPLI THAT CANNOT BE CHANGED BY DEMARCHES AND PRONOUNCEMENTS, WHEREAS THERE IS SOME CHANCE THAT SOUTH AFRICA CAN BE INFLUENCED TO WITHDRAW ITS TROOPS WHICH MIGHT AT LEAST LIMIT THE DAMAGE TO WESTERN INTERESTS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BY AVOIDING CONTINUING GORILLA WARFARE.

4. DEBATE ON THIS INITIATIVE OCCUPIED ALMOST ALL OF THE TWO-DAY MEETING AND LEFT LITTLE TIME FOR DISCUSSION OF CONFIDENTIAL

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AID TO ZAMBIA, ZAIRE AND ANGOLA. THE EC EXPERTS DID TAKE NOTE OF U. S. VIEWS SET FORTH IN DEPARTMENT'S 55553 WHICH DCM DREW UPON IN MARCH 6 MEETING WITH GOL OFFICIALS. THE EXPERTS SIMPLY CALLED ON THE COMMISSION TO CONTINUE ITS STUDY OF STEPPED-UP AID TO ZAIRE, ZAMBIA AND ANGOLA WITH PARTICULAR FOCUS ON WAYS AND MEANS OF KEEPING THE BENGUALA RAILROAD OPEN. FARKAS

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